1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *cheikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "indios," but as "indigenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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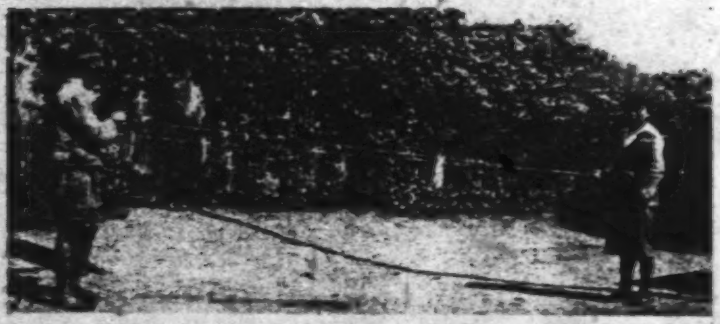

[417]

Tops (Alepüe): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3, Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[417]

Harvesting: 1, Children cutting grain with sickle (Coñaripe). 2, Loading grain onto an oxcart (Coñaripe). 3, A lila (fenced-in area) in which grain is threshed by tramping horses (Alepüe).

[p. 172 (B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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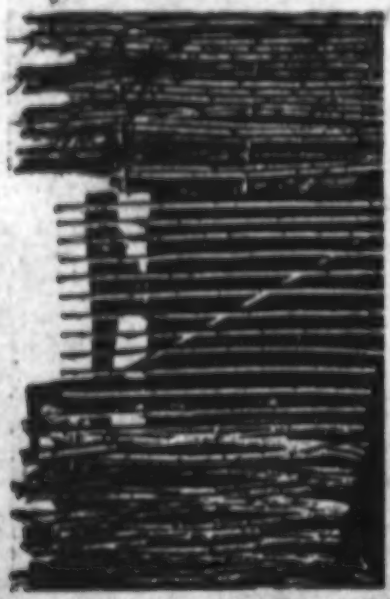

Fences: 1, Chicken yard (Boroa). 2, Garden (Coburipe). 3, Sheep pasture (Coburipe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepúe).

[p. 172(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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221 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
232 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Housing: 1, A ruka (Alepúe). 2, The Coñaripe cacique's homestead. 3, One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for sleeping and for storage.

[p. 220(A)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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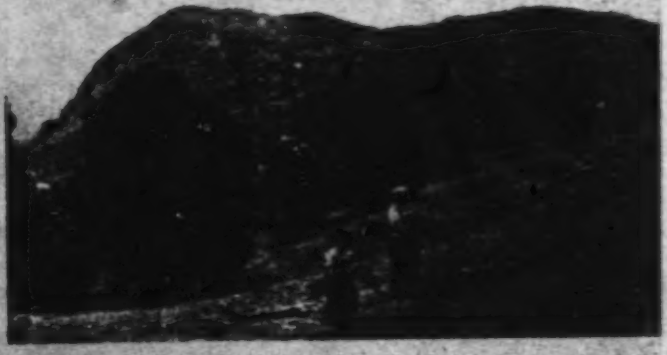

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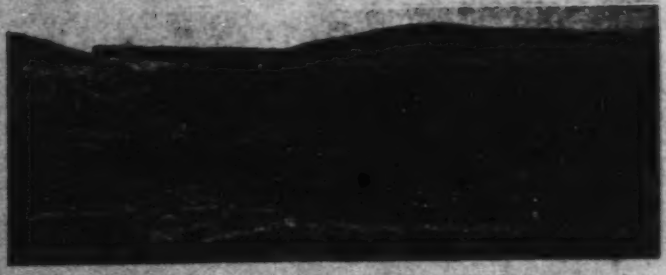

Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quiloquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[p. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmari to San Martin de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 64, *3*). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Alumine (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, *3*) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [245] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, *1*; 70, *2*; 78, *3*); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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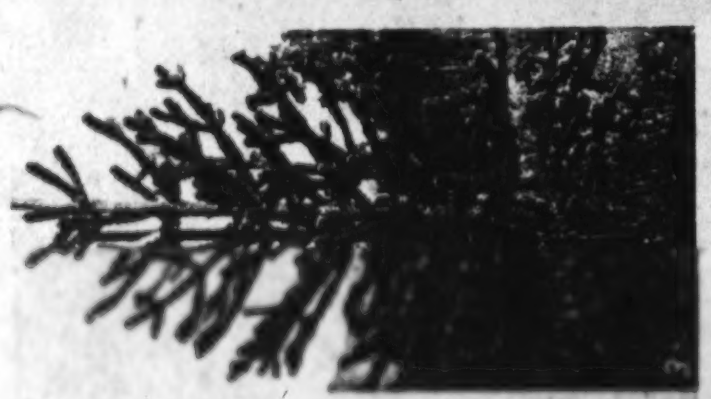

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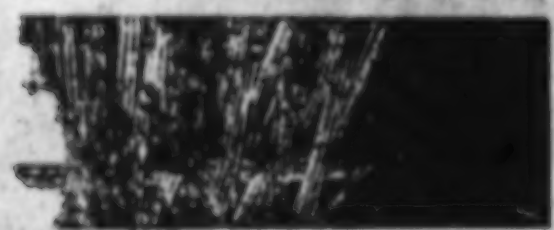

Forms, and the araucaria pine: 1, Chicken-yard fence (Aleptic). 2, Cattle pasture fence (Aleptic). 3, A young araucaria pine (Araucaria). 4, A fruit-bearing araucaria pine (Pangui pulli).

[P. 172(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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231 417 The Government will not allow trees to be cut for fence making, and newly fallen trees are needed for firewood. Persons who need fences must, therefore, buy slats at lumber mills in the area—something few Araucanians can afford.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

231 In post-Columbian and pre-Argentine days each family owned a herd of domesticated horses to which tamed wild ones were added occasionally. Tamed wild cattle were also added to domesticated herds. Other domesticated animals were sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, and chickens, and, in recent years, turkeys and geese. Today an occasional family has a few goats.

[422] Animals were not branded. "Every owner knew his own, and everyone else knew to whom the animals belonged. The animals, too, knew where they belonged for they always came home no matter how far away they strayed. They do that today." The interpreter, born and reared in Patagonia, knew this to be true.

[552] Oxen are given names when being trained to haul. Names of pairs owned by informants were Valiente (valiant) and Parece (similar); Navegando (navigating) and Marenero (sailor); Coronel (colonel) and Cuidado (solicitude); Principio (beginning) and Recuerdo (remembrance).

A pre-Argentine breed of chicken (pio) known to non-Araucanians as the "Araucanian chicken" was seen about many homes. Three characteristics distinguish them: body feathers are of several colors; the head is tufted with feathers; and the shells of their eggs are pastel shades of blue, greenish blue, green, and yellowish pink. "That speckled gray-white hen over there with the tuft on her head lays bluish eggs; that one with the mixture of yellow, black, and red feathers lays yellowish-pink eggs." Chickens are fattened on the berries of michai. "Whenever I want to fatten one, I tell her [small daughter] to take it to where the berries of michai hang low. Chickens certainly know how to feed on those berries."

TRADE, EXCHANGE, CASH INCOME

439 The oldest informants recalled the days when the trade of the Araucanians extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Horses were traded with Pampa Indians of the Argentine plains and with Whites as far as Buenos Aires; cattle were traded with Whites as far as Valdivia in Chile; none remembered the days of trade with peoples to the north, the Guaraní, Quechua, and Aymara. Non-Araucanian informants,

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Chocoque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Chocoque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.

Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Chocoque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and